

Contents

Preface — V

1 Introduction — 1

- 1.1 Goals — 1
- 1.2 The road to the interfaces — 4
 - 1.2.1 Features — 5
 - 1.2.2 Derivation by phase — 7
 - 1.2.3 Spell-Out Domains — 12
 - 1.2.4 Linearisation — 16
- 1.3 Roadmap — 20
- 1.4 The data — 22

2 Syntactic issues — 25

- 2.1 Preliminary remarks — 25
- 2.2 Syntactic properties of extraposition — 31
 - 2.2.1 Lack of syntactic trigger — 31
 - 2.2.2 The locality of extraposition — 37
 - 2.2.2.1 Subjacency — 37
 - 2.2.2.2 Subject island effects — 41
 - 2.2.3 Further arguments against overt syntactic movement — 55
- 2.3 An interface approach to extraposition — 63
 - 2.3.1 Condition C effects — 63
 - 2.3.2 Haider's solution — 64
 - 2.3.3 Rochemont and Culicover's solution — 66
 - 2.3.4 Fox and Nissenbaum's solution — 70
 - 2.3.5 The proposal — 75
 - 2.3.6 The LF position of extraposed constituents — 79
- 2.4 An analysis employing copy theory — 85
 - 2.4.1 Conditions on co-reference — 86
 - 2.4.1.1 Condition C of the Binding Theory — 87
 - 2.4.1.2 Williams's general pattern of anaphoric dependence — 89
 - 2.4.1.3 Extraposition and Condition C — 94
 - 2.4.1.4 The logophoric pronoun constraint — 96
 - 2.4.2 Sorting out potential problems — 101
 - 2.4.2.1 Extraposition from definite DPs — 101
 - 2.4.2.2 Obviation of Condition C violations without extraposition — 102
- 2.5 Conclusion — 109

3	The syntax-phonology correspondence — 111
3.1	Preliminary remarks — 111
3.2	Prosodic categories and prominence — 114
3.2.1	The prosodic hierarchy — 114
3.2.1.1	Intonational cues for prosodic categories — 118
3.2.2	Prosodic phrasing — 121
3.2.2.1	The end-based theory — 121
3.2.2.2	Phonological phrases in English — 126
3.2.2.3	Optionality — 136
3.2.3	Phrasal stress and focus prominence — 138
3.2.3.1	Phrasal stress — 138
3.2.3.2	Focus prominence and background accentuation — 150
3.2.4	Intonational phrases — 157
3.3	Revision of the end-based theory — 164
3.3.1	Some problems for the end-based theory — 164
3.3.2	Cyclic spell-out and prosodic structure — 170
3.3.3	Final analysis of phonological phrasing — 180
3.4	Conclusion — 183
4	Phonological solutions — 189
4.1	Preliminary remarks — 189
4.2	Modelling PF movement — 190
4.3	Solutions for extraposition — 195
4.3.1	The role of interface constraints — 197
4.3.1.1	PP extraposition from object — 197
4.3.1.2	PP extraposition from subject — 202
4.3.1.3	Extraposition of relative clauses — 205
4.3.1.4	Extraposition from external arguments — 213
4.3.2	The role of exhaustivity — 219
4.3.3	The role of head-alignment constraints — 233
4.3.3.1	Blocking extraposition — 233
4.3.3.2	Ranking the head-alignment constraints — 240
4.3.3.3	Accentuation of the predicate inthetic sentences — 242
4.3.3.4	Deaccentuation of relatives inthetic sentences — 249
4.3.3.5	Extraposition of focused PPs and relatives — 253
4.3.3.6	Extraposition in the postnuclear stretch — 262
4.4	Weight effects — 267
4.4.1	Performance or competence? — 267
4.4.2	Relative weight — 270
4.4.3	Weight, extraposition, and heavy NP shift — 274

4.5	Conclusion — 285
5	Defocused and light PPs — 287
5.1	Preliminary remarks — 287
5.2	Extrapolation of defocused PPs — 288
5.3	Extrapolation of light PPs — 303
5.3.1	The prosodic representation of light PPs — 306
5.3.2	Stress neutrality — 309
5.3.3	Intrusive- <i>r</i> — 310
5.3.4	The prosodic representation of extraposed light PPs — 313
5.3.5	Cliticisation and extrapolation — 315
5.3.5.1	Cliticisation — 315
5.3.5.2	Extrapolation — 323
5.3.5.3	Variation and topics for future research — 332
5.4	Conclusion — 340
6	Concluding remarks — 341
A	List of constraints — 343
	Bibliography — 347
	Index — 367